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The U.S. Southwest and particularly the region along the 1000-mile long U.S.-Mexican boundary, offers a ready laboratory for the observation of many phases of multilingualism and multiculturalism. The author feels, however, that the rich sociolinguistic material of the area has suffered from over-simplification and neglect. Very few synchronic studies along modern linguistic lines have appeared. He believes that the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the Sociolinguistic Study on Southwest Spanish, supported by the University of Texas at El Paso's Research Institute, will help change the situation. After explaining briefly the aims of the Sociolinguistic Study, the author presents a survey of the historical evolution of the study of multilingualism. He also suggests a schema of the language situation of the Southwest. (DO)

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LANGUAGE VARIETIES ALONG THE U.S.-MEXICAN BORDER*

By: Jacob Ornstein, University of Texas-El Paso

(For Sociolinguistics Section, Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics, Cambridge Univ., England (AILA) Sept. 8-12, 1969)

The U. S. Southwest and particularly the region along the 1000-mile long U.S.-Mexican boundary, offers a ready laboratory for the observation of many phases of multilingualism and multiculturalism. Indeed, several of my Southwestern colleagues and a few from elsewhere are presenting papers on this general theme at this very conference. Unfortunately, however, the rich sociolinguistic material of the area has suffered from over-simplification and cavalier treatment, with a predilection for the colorful and bizarre, or from outright neglect.

Very few, indeed, almost no synchronic studies along modern linguistic lines have appeared, and Aurelio Espinosa's Estudios sobre el español de Nuevo Méjico,[1] completed several decades ago, still remains the only exhaustive description, save for scattered articles and unpublished theses and dissertations. A vast number of socio-economic and educational studies exists on the hispano, anglo, and Indian ethnic groups, but few of these have taken the linguistic component into consideration.

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Political developments have taken a hand in altering this picture, as significant legislation has been enacted, including the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, to improve the lot of the minorities, a large percentage of which communicates in something other than standard language. The Southwest speech communities include some three and a half million Spanish-English speakers, and a far lesser number of Indians, most of whom are in varying degrees not only bilingual or trilingual, but also bidialectal or even diglossic. Educational and social planners have not failed to call upon linguists to help them with the multi-faceted communication problems involved, but all too often the latter have had to operate as "artists",[2] relying upon intuition rather than any available body of scientific data.

The Sociolinguistic Study on Southwest Spanish, a modest project supported by this University's Research Institute, has thus far been able to achieve little more than to collect pilot data, develop some tentative hypotheses and assumptions, and outline desiderata for further investigation. All this appears, in detail with appropriate bibliography, in a lengthy study by the speaker, and titled, "Sociolinguistics and New Perspectives in the Study of Southwest Spanish," scheduled for publication in a forthcoming volume of this university's Studies in Languages and Linguistics.[3] Foremost among the recommendations is that an effort be made to assemble and systematize pertinent linguistic and social data relating to Southwest multilingualism and multiculturalism. Perhaps the best repository for this would be the International Center for Research on Bilingualism, at Laval

University, Quebec, headed by William Mackey, and which is equipped with modern electronic information retrieval facilities. Appropriately, Di Pietro in his useful review of studies and desiderata in bilingualism in the Americas observes that: "A systematic classification is needed of the information that has been gathered. At present it is scattered about in places that are often inaccessible."[4]

Another concern of the Project has been to seek a more exact description of the multilingualism of the area without becoming inextricably mired in theoretical disputes raging in our field. It is a fact that both psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics have developed at such a pace during the past two decades that to keep abreast of the often vying new formulations and the re-evaluations of older concepts becomes a most challenging task. Bright, attempting to transmit a sense of its multi-faceted nature ascribes to sociolinguistics seven dimensions, any two or more of which may converge.[5]

The current ferment within the study of linguistic diversity and the level of sophistication reached, almost makes of the traditional dialect geographer, working with meager resources, a primitive figure. The fact is that until recently bilingualism was a marginal study, despite which a great deal of valuable research data was gathered.

It is almost impossible to study the varieties of language in the American Southwest without reference to the historical evolution of the study of multilingualism. Modern pioneers have included such figures as Haugen with his monumental studies of Norwegian as an immigrant language in the United States, and his <u>Bilingualism in the Americas</u>, perhaps unparalleled in showing, with remarkable brevity,

the interrelatedness of so many disciplinas impinging upon this phenomenon.[6] Weinreich, particularly in Languages in Contact, signalled a more dynamic treatment of multilingual speech communities as interacting rather than detached entities.[7] Attitudinal and other psychological and societal factors including "language loyalty" were given unprecedented weighting in their influence both upon the "dominance configuration" and linguistic interference. Thanks to such insights and the recent interest in contrastive analysis studies, such as those carried out by Bowen, Stockwell and Martin,[8] interference is no longer regarded as a unidirectional simplistic process.

It is possible to mention only a few of the refinements that have been developed in the study of the regions of the world whose populations speak more than one language. Ferguson coined the term diglossia for countries where two well differentiated varieties of the same language, one formal and hence "high" in prestige, the other informal and "low", are in use,[9] although by now its meaning has been extended.

A great deal of attention has been paid to "code-switching," both in the native and foreign language contexts, and involving changes of levels, styles, dialects or languages.[10] Gumperz, who has also introduced the term "repertoire" for a variety of a given language, has done extensive study on the conditions governing code-switching among smaller ethnic groups in a linguistically diverse country.[11] Labov has attempted to quantify divergent language use and social affiliation by employing linguistic variables.[12]

The categorization of linguistically diverse speech communities has advanced considerably. Stewart has developed a taxonomic classification of languages according to their functions in a given country.[13] Kloss has classified multilingual communities with special reference to official policy toward minorities by sovereign states throughout the world. Of particular interest is his classification of speakers of foreign languages in America into four groups: 1) Sole first settlers 2) Co-first settlers 3)Sole immigrants 4) Co-immigrants.[14] Significantly, however, no universal consensus exists on these matters. A striking example of this is seen in the denial by Rona, a distinguished Uruguayan scholar, that the distributive use of Spanish and Guaraní by Paraguay, usually considered the bilingual nation par excellence, actually constitutes bilingualism.[15] In this connection, a very recent book by Joan Rubin, titled National Bilingualism in Paraguay, furnishes a model for researchers of language contact studies performed according to modern methodology and presented with lucidity.[16]

A vast range of sociolinguistic implications have been probed by Fishman, who has been particularly interested in elaborating a hierarchial set of sociological constructs relating language choice behavior to specific domains of human interaction.[17] He has also coined the term "ethnicity" which attempts to describe the degree of affiliation to often competing ethnic groups.[18] In Language Loyalty in the United States some half-dozen immigrant speech communities are examined as this and other concepts relate to them. Bilingualism in the Barrio edited by Fishman, Cooper and Ma,

is a virtual tour de force, presenting a wide range of studies reports by different researchers on stable and widespread bilingualism of Puerto Ricans in the New York and Jersey City area. To a large extent they reflect the maturation of studies of linguistic diversity, performed according to rigorous statistical method and research design.[19]

This is not to suggest that statistical approaches or social science research techniques are universally accepted in our field for investigations of multilingualism. Other models more impressionistic have also been proposed, such as Hymes' anthropologically-oriented one. Concerned with the "ethnography of speech" he has endeavored to set up a sociolinguistic model according to the elements making up the social framework of communication.[20]

Undoubtedly bilingualism or the use of two languages or more still remains one of the most elusive phenomena to define, since the act of speech, be it in the mother tongue or a second language has so many psychological and sociological as well as pedagogic implications. Definitions have proliferated, but all leave something to be desired. Accordingly, researchers have designed tests based on their own ideas of essentiality. Tests of bilingualism cover a wide range including examination of purely linguistic data and comparative language performance and elicitation of reaction-time and apperception of a variety of stimuli such as isolated lexical items in two languages, pictures, symbols, colors, and taped fragments of speech. Unfortunately many of these explore but one small aspect of a tremendously complicated process. An attempt at a broader-gauge type of measure has been made in French Canada by Mackey and associates, who have been trying to

quantify the distributive roles of languages according to their functional spheres of activity, and along with this, data on linguistic interference and shift. It is our understanding that the approach is a multidisciplinary one.[21]

Psycholinguists in particular have during the past twenty years been intrigued by the phenomenon of code-switching and the cognate problem of mediation. Some, like Penfield and Roberts consider that there is a single switch system, while others believe that in the brain several systems exist which control the specific input system to be used for encoding a message. How messages are encoded and the type of mediation occurring are by no means clear, anymore than is the question of whether bilinguals acquire a separate referents for each symbol in their codes. A great deal has been written on semantic referents in the verbal processes of multilinguals and studies by John B. Carroll, a pioneer psycholinguist and George Miller of Harvard University are especially relevant.[22] Ervin and Osgood's distinction between coordinate and compound bilingualism has received wide dissemination, but supporting research has not been overwhelmingly conclusive. Jakobovits and Lambert's satiation technique appears to have provided the best support for the theory.[23]

A greater awareness has been emerging of the importance of non-linguistic factors, such as the hair color, bodily features and kinesies, ethnic and religious ties of the interlocutor in bilingual performance. Ervin-Tripp and others have also demonstrated the significance of topic to this entire process.[24]

Psychologists and others interested in the subject have written a great deal on the effects of multilingualism on personality, intelligence and educational performance, not to speak of language acquisition. Lambert, a social psychologist at the University of Montreal has acted as the catalyst for many studies relating to these subjects, carried out with such investigators as Gardner, Tunstall, Barik, Havelka, Peal, Yeni-Komshian, Fillenbaum, Kolers and Crosby.[25]

One of the most debated issues, however, continues to be whether bilingualism has noxious or beneficial consequences upon intelligence quotients as ordinarily measured and, even more importantly, upon school studies. Such researchers as Peal and Lambert[26] consider it an asset, while a large number including Darcy, take an opposite view, although inadequate sampling and research design are often faulted for conclusions in either direction. Considerable testing is now in progress, particularly on school children in the inner cities and Mexican-American youngsters in the Southwest and Puerto Ricans in the New York City area, which may help to illuminate these problems. A monumental study, Bilingualism and Primary Education, highly statistical in its design, has been carried out by Macnamara. It studies the Irish experiment with a major conclusion that persons obliged to take courses in a "weaker" language be it English or Gaelic[27] are at a disadvantage. Other implications must, however, be regarded.

In the field of linguistics itself, there has been an upsurge of interest in non-standard and lower prestige forms of speech, until recently badly ignored. This is commonly referred to as the study of

"social dialects." More will be said about this below.

Returning to the American Southwest it is necessary to describe in general terms the type of linguistic diversity obtaining here. First of all let it be said that bilingualism functions here within the framework of one de facto official language, English. This is somewhat modified, but to a diminishing degree by the situation in New Mexico, where law requires publication of official documents in both Spanish and English, and which is often regarded as our only officially bilingual state. School policy, based on local option in the U.S., is being vigorously debated in the Southwest, with one faction insisting on exclusive use of English as medium of instruction, the other advocating bilingual facilities, very scarce at present.[28] Nevertheless, pre-school and in-school training in English as a second language is a growing movement both inside and outside of government projects like Bravo and Upward Bound. Yet even here, there is disagreement whether the approach should be a bidialectal one, or should employ only Standard English.

Another important feature of the bilingualism here is its relatively stable nature, reinforced by centuries of co-existence of anglo and hispano speech communities and cultures. This is in direct contrast to the dynamic[29] or what the writer prefers to term the transitory bilingualism of, let us say, Polish, Italian, or Yiddish-speaking immigrants from Europe settling in the New World, whose offspring become monolingual in little more than one generation. The maintenance of Spanish and Indian languages has been aided by several factors, prominent among them being the varying and often

clashing social value systems, although there is reason to believe that by now a hybrid or mixed Hispano-Anglo (and possibly an Hispano-Anglo-Indian one) is actually in existence in certain areas such as El Paso-Juárez. Here these cultures are in dynamic contact, and not segregated or ghettoized as was the case, with Jewish groups, for example, living in Eastern Europe or as one observes in regard to the Greeks and Turks on Cyprus.

Moreover, this stability has been further aided by the proximity of Mexico, which country acts as a socio-cultural-linguistic matrix. Family and other contacts are fairly intense, while border communities such as El Paso-Juárez constitute actual economic entities, absolutely dependent upon each other for their welfare. Finally with heavy immigration from that Southern republic to the United States of persons seeking and finding employment both on a short term basis and as settlers, linguistic interaction is constant. All this acts to counterbalance the heavy English linguistic interference, serving at the same time to prevent the creolization of Spanish, and to maintain it essentially as a variety of American(Mexican) Spanish. It also counteracts the archaizing tendencies displayed by language "islands" such as the Turkish speech community in Bulgaria or German settlers in the Balkans.

Perhaps with more valor than discretion, and against dire warnings of certain fellow-linguists, the speaker has dared to attempt to schematize the language situation of the Southwest. The taxonomy offered below is of course somewhat idealized but with the redeeming feature, it is hoped, of a maximum economy of categories achieved

through utilizing structural similarity rather than lexical variation as a classificatory basis, and by using the koiné concept where isoglossic bundles are blurred or highly doubtful.

By way of parenthesis the writer wishes to indicate the realization of the difficulty or even impossibility of setting up dichotomies between standard and non-standard languages, dialect and language, creole and pidgin, and the like. From the sociolinguistic point of view, however, the task is easier, since the criterion of social acceptability may be used. In the Southwest at least Mexican-Americans, often classed as a minority, actually represent a numerical majority in many places. Yet often neither their Spanish nor their English are regarded within the greater anglo-hispano community as acceptable forms of speech for admission to the advantages of elite status and the power structure.

At any rate, here is the first approximation of our sketch of the Southwest language situation, intended for modification or even obliteration as criticism from colleagues warrants:

(insert diagram)

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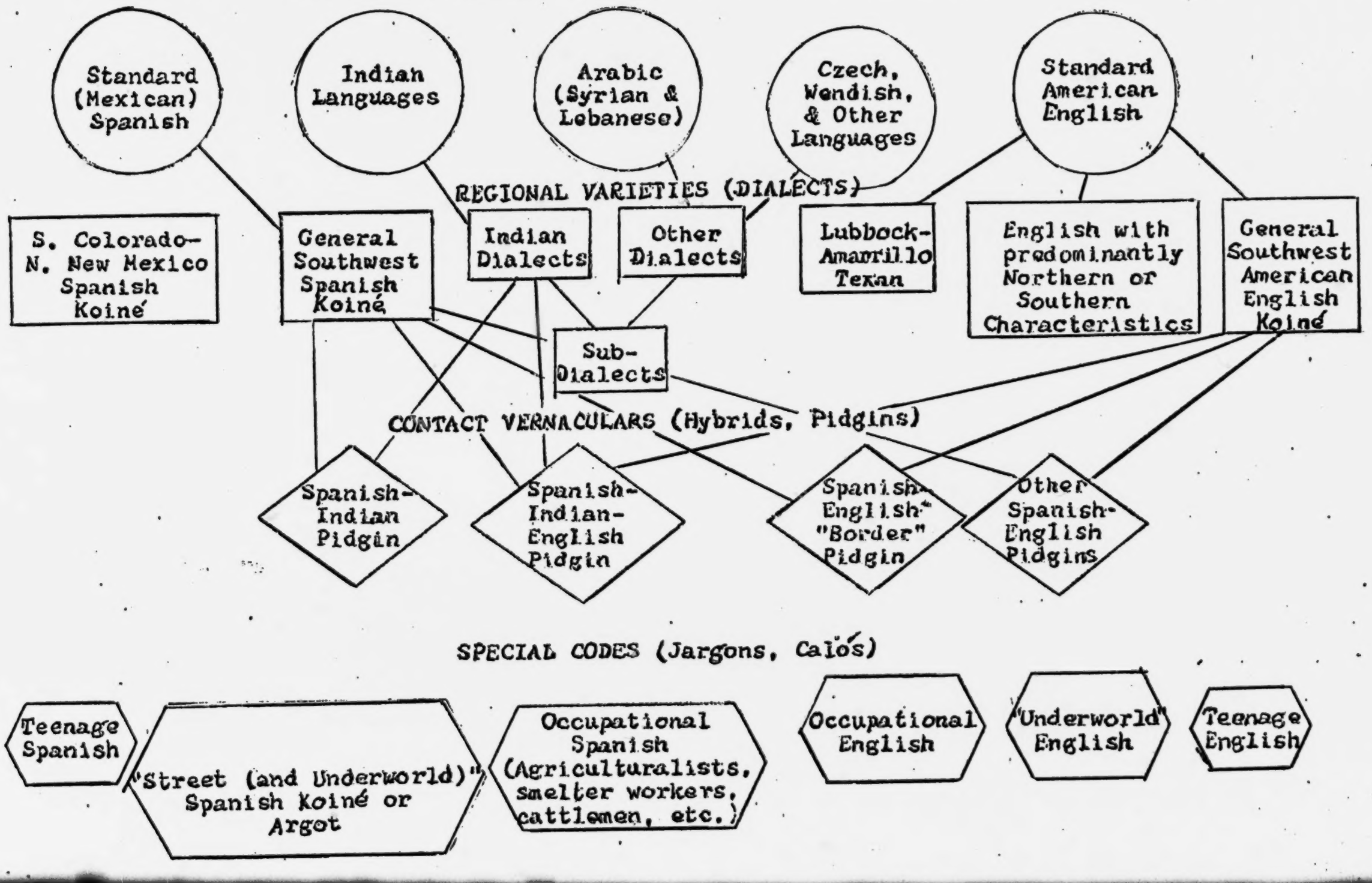
"Language Varieties Along the U.S.-Mexican Border"

DIAGRAM OF

SOUTHWESTERN LANGUAGE SITUATION (IDEALIZED)

(from Texas Panhandle to Southern California Coast)



As can be seen above, at the top of the hierarchical structure comes language, represented by Standard American English and Standard Mexican Spanish, as well as Indian tongues, Czech, Wendish, Arabic, spoken by smaller groups. Below this are at least two important dialects, the Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado variety descending directly from the speech of the 16th and 17th century Spanish conquistadores, and a General Southwest Spanish koiné based on Mexican Spanish. This is followed by a little-studied Spanish-English contact vernacular koiné, used along the entire 1,000-mile international border, and often referred to derogatorily by such terms as "Tex-Mex." Finally, we identify the specialized codes or jargons, including vocational ones such as those of cattlemen, agricultural and mine workers and a much-discussed lexically innovative "underworld-street koiné." This variety, known variously by such terms as pachuco, tirilí, bato is used not only by felons, delinquents, contrabandists, prostitutes, narcotic addicts and others outside respectable society, but enjoys rather wide usage among younger males throughout the Southwest as a street discourse and for slang effect.

During and immediately after World War II the above-mentioned street argot came in for international attention when groups of teenage delinquents calling themselves Pachucos migrated from El Paso, Texas to Los Angeles, California where they warred with the local Califas. A large bibliography exists on pachuco speech.[30] The field work of Lurline Coltharp on the related tirilí speech in South El Paso is described in her book The Tongue of the Tirilones.[31]

John M. Sharp, in his study titled "The Origin of Some Non-Standard Lexical Items Observed in the Spanish of El Paso,"[32] shows that this koiné is a composite of lexical elements from Golden Age Spanish germanía, non-standard items from Mexico and other parts of the Spanish-speaking world, direct loans and calques from English, and new coinages following definite patterns. The diffusion of the lexical core of this Southwest Spanish argot has indeed gone far beyond its deviant origins, acquiring a certain amount of respectability in the same type of socially upward trajectory that Partridge demonstrated numerous originally underworld English lexical items to have travelled.[33] The point is that this street koiné is no longer exclusively bound to the lower socio-economic classes.

The following is a conversation in Southwest Spanish street argot that might take place particularly among urban youngsters of underprivileged background, with some lexical variation, almost anywhere in the Southwest:

CONVERSATION IN SOUTHWEST SPANISH STREET-KOINÉ

A.	¿Quehúbole, bato?	How ya' doin', fellow?
B.	¿Esele, qué pasó?	Hi there, what's new?
A.	¿Pa' 'onde la llevas?	Where ya' headin'?
B.	Me voy al chante.	I'm goin' home.
A.	¿Por qué no vamos a chutear una mesa de pool?	Why don't we go and shoot a table of pool?
B.	Chale, voy a borrarme al mono con mi chavala.	Nothin' doin', I'm gonn' go scram with my girl to the pictures.
A.	Órale pos, Pero puedes prestarme un tostón?	O.K. then, but can you lend me four bits?
B.	Aqui 'ta una bola. Tengo nomás dos.	Here's a buck. I only got two.
A.	¡Suave!	Swell.
B.	Pos mañana no quieres ir a pistiar unas birrias? Después arreglamos unos dátiles y llevamos a las jainas al borlo. Tengo ganas de tirar chancla.	Well, tomorrow d'ya want to go have a coupla' beers. Then we'll find us some dates and take'm to a brawl. I feel like dancin'.
A.	'Ta suave. Pos nunca me ahuito, si puedo tirar chancla. Despues si nos queda buti jando, podemos refinar. Que paguen las chavalas. Son buti al alba.	That's swell, 'cause I never get bored if I can dance. Later if we got a lot of dough left, we can eat. Let the gals pay! They're real sharp.
B.	Ándale pues, ái te huacho mañana.	O.K. then, I'll see you tomorrow.

GLOSSARY

ái-there
ahuitarse-to get bored, excited (Mex.)
bato-guy, fellow (etym. ?)
birria-beer (< Eng. beer)
bola-"buck," dollar (fig.)
borlo-dance, brawl (< Eng. brawl)
borrarse-"scram," get goin
carnal-brother (Nomin. of adj., semant. special.)
chancla-slipper (Mex.)
chante-house, shanty (< Eng. shanty? Nahuatl?)
chavala-girl (Penin. Sp.)
chutear-to shoot (< Eng. shoot)

ái te huacho-be seein' ya'
al alba-"sharp," keen
ándale-O.K.
chále-Nix, nothin' doin'
ésele-hi' there

dátile-"date"-(pseudo-calque from Eng.)
jando-"dough," money (< Sp. germanía)
huachar-to see, look watch (< Eng. to watch)
jaina-"gal" (< Eng. Jane?)
mono-pictures, movie (< animated carbons. "monitos". El Paso usage)
nomás-only, just (Gen. Sp. Am.)
pistiar-drink (< Mex. pisto "swallow"
refinar-to eat (fig. from ?)
suave-swell (Mex.)
tostón-four bits (Mex.)

llevárla-to be headin', go
órale-O.K.
quehúbole-How ya' doin'
tirar chancla-dance

It is germane to mention that interest in social dialects has in general brought about a reconsideration of the idealized and rigid concept of the "educated native speaker" upon which all linguistic postulates used to be formulated. It has been pointed out that Daniel Jones speaks of "diaphones" as varying phonic unities of different varieties of the same language, while Stewart believes in a single "common core" inventory and Fries and Pike in "coexistent phonemic systems."[34] There is of course no reason for limiting this concept to phonology alone, as is suggested by Weinreich's term "differential description" and Haugen's "dialinguistics," which could include grammatical and other components.[35] More recently Troike attempts a largely Chomskian-type generative solution to this problem involving, in phonology at least, the formulation of contrasting "diaphonemic units" underlying the actual phonetic realization found in any given dialect.[36] Finally, De Camp unsatisfied with structural taxonomy and Weinreich's diasystem approach, proposes that conversion rules be devised which in any grammar would automatically account for phonological and structural variants existing in social and other dialects.[37] Obviously the non-standard varieties of Spanish spoken in the Southwest need to be examined in this more liberal and flexible framework.

It needs to be emphasized that in dealing with the speech varieties of the Southwest it hardly appears profitable to apply "marble slab" linguistics in which data emerges as unchanging as was often the case in traditional dialect atlases. Despite the relative stability of Southwest bilingualism, there are social forces to be reckoned with

as a new generation of hispanos emerges, with some oriented toward upward mobility, rejecting ethnic ties and striving to join the mainstream of anglo culture and language. Still others seek to maintain loyalty to native language and culture, yet acculturating themselves to a sufficient degree to attain economic and social success in a predominantly anglo power structure.

Together with Paul W. Goodman of our Department of Sociology a sociolinguistic questionnaire is being developed, with pretesting almost completed on 96 students. This elicits from the Subjects detailed information on socio-economic status, distributive functions of Spanish and English by bilinguals, language loyalty and preference, attitudes toward languages both standard and non-standard, as well as on cultural attitudes regarding conflicting hispano-anglo values, work ethic, life patterns and aspirations. The questionnaire is codeable and contains scales for rating attitudinal and other key factors.

In the language phase of our project "a language performance rating" is being sought for the skills of speaking, understanding, reading, and writing in both English and Spanish. The oral-aural part is being approached through taped interviews, while for writing Subjects are being required to compose essays up to the limit of their ability, on selected topics which are identical for both languages. If deemed desirable use will be made also of the MLA Proficiency Tests or the Pimsleur Modern Foreign Language Tests. A panel of judges will rate the students both on fluency and on the degree to which a commonly acceptable type of standard language is used. This "language performance rating," reflecting both proficiency and variety of

language, as the independent variable, and all other variables will be related to this factor.

Technical linguistic data gleaned by elicitation, coupled with examination of existing writings should result in descriptions of the main varieties both standard and non-standard of Southwest Spanish. This would include information on the distribution of phonological features, phonemic, allophonic and prosodic; inventories of grammatical features; lexical inventories with notations on semantic shift. In addition the special characteristics of bilingualism in the American Southwest would be detailed, with attention paid to "dominance configuration" patterns among different types of multilinguals. Contrastive analysis of linguistic features would isolate leading Spanish-English interference phenomena. A "data base" could thus be constructed, capable of supplying specific linguistic information now lacking for teachers and text book writers engaged in remediation and general instruction of Southwest bilinguals.

The educational phase of the Project is to include the gathering of such information on each Subject as Student Achievement Test (SAT), high school record, college grade-point average, and if possible Graduate Record Examination (GRE). Data from our counseling services as well as the testimony of the students themselves will be consulted on the special problems encountered by Mexican-American youth because of deficient language skills and clashing cultural factors. It is known, for example, that this group has a greatly lower rate of acceptance to Graduate School than their <u>anglo</u> peers.

In the final or evaluation stage, modern statistical procedures will be employed to correlate linguistic performance including the ability to function in standard language varieties, with other significant variables of performance in school subjects. Thus it is hoped to ascertain how language skills of bilinguals may relate to scholarship, Student Entrance Scores (SES), work ethic, and the complex of factors making up the profile of a student's progress at college and his ability to go into graduate studies.

Finally, it should be noted that with Mexican-Americans constituting about 50 per cent of its enrollment, the University of Texas-El Paso represents the most heavily bilingual higher institution in the continental United States. As such it has a largely untapped potential as a laboratory for the sociolinguistic study of linguistic diversity in our American Southwest. Too little is still known about the nature of the specific problems facing the native-born student entering our universities with weaker knowledge of English than of Spanish or some other language, and often with no firm control of any standard variety of either one. More information is needed on what sort of adjustive linguistic devices are most useful for building upon previous knowledges of these languages. In conclusion, more understanding is essential of the students' own reactions to their bilingualism and biculturalism and the ways in which these function as positive or negative factors for them.

NOTES:

*Appreciation is expressed in particular to the following individuals for constructive suggestions: Edward L. Blansitt Jr., Lurline H. Coltharp, Charles G. Elerick, all of our Department of English, as well as John M. Sharp, Department of Modern Languages.

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2. I am indebted for this term to Dr. Edmund B. Coleman, who employed it at a talk on his psycholinguistic research presented before the University of Texas-El Paso Linguistics Club, April 13, 1969. In this he described the absence of "data bases" for linguistic phenomena, such as those which have been built up for such natural sciences as organic chemistry.

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30. See especially George C. Barker, Pachuco: An American-Spanish Argot and its Social Functions in Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona, Bulletin XXXI, (Soc. Sci. Bull. 18) 1950;_____, "Social Functions of Language in a Mexican-American Community," Acta Americana, Vol. 6 (1947) Vol. 17, No. 1-2 (Nov.-Dec. 1951) pp. 17-32; Articles of pachuco and similar topics are to be found in such journals as American Speech and Orbis; Haldeen Braddy, "The Pachucos and Their Argot," Southern Folklore Quarterly, Vol. XXIV, (Dec. 1960) pp. 255-71; Rafel Jesús González, "Pachuco: The Birth of a Creole Language, Arizona Quarterly, (Nov. 1968), pp. 343-56.

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